

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SECTO 04038 01 OF 03 150002Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W
-----023287 150007Z /65

O 142322Z APR 78 ZFF-6
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABARONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 4038

EXDIS

CAPT TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: RH, PDV, UK
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: OWEN/VANCE MEETING WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT AFTERNOON
APRIL 14

SUMMARY: IN COURSE OF MEETING AFTERNOON APRIL 14, PATRIOTIC
FRONT LEADERS NKOMO AND MUGABE PRESENTED POSITIONS ON THREE
CRUCIAL ELEMENTS OF SETTLEMENT. PF WILLING TO ACCEPT UN
PEACE-KEEPING FORCE UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, BUT CONTINUES
TO DEMAND EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER THE POLICE DURING THE TRANSI-
TIONAL PERIOD-PF PROPOSES NEW COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS
FOR THE GOVERNING COUNCIL WHICH REDUCES THE RESIDENT COM-
MISSIONER'S ROLE TO TITULAR HEAD OF THE ARMY AND GENERALLY
POWERLESS MEMBER OF GOVERNING COUNCIL ON WHICH PF WILL PRE-
DOMINATE BY TWO TO ONE. END SUMMARY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SECTO 04038 01 OF 03 150002Z

1. AFTER BRIEF OPENING REMARKS BY OWEN IN WHICH HE EXPRESSED
HOPE THAT WE COULD PICK UP WHERE WE LEFT OFF IN MALTA, NKOMO
BEGAN HIS PRESENTATION WITH PREDICTABLE PF QUESTIONING CONCERN-
ING WHETHER AGREEMENTS REACHED IN DAR ES SALAAM WOULD BE BINDING
ONES. HE AND MUGABE ASKED WHETHER DAR WAS TO BE A "SERIOUS"
MEETING OR SIMPLY ANOTHER ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS. OWEN RESPONDED

THAT HE HOPED WE COULD REACH AGREEMENTS ON THE AAP AND MOVE TO A MEETING OF ALL PARTIES WITH THOSE AGREEMENTS. SECRETARY VANCE STATED THAT WE WOULD HOPE TO BE ABLE TO GO TO AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WITH COMMON VIEWS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG POINTED OUT THAT "ALL OF OUR CASES ARE STRONGER IF WE ARE ABLE TO REACH CONSENSUS. WE WILL BE IN NO POSITION TO MOVE FORWARD IF THERE IS NO CONSENSUS AMONG US." OWEN NOTED THAT AS THERE MUST BE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, CERTAIN THINGS SUCH AS THE CEASEFIRE WILL HAVE TO BE AGREED UPON BY ALL PARTIES. HE DID NOTE THAT "WE STAND BEHIND OUR PROPOSALS WE PUT DOWN IN SEPTEMBER." IN RESPONSE TO NKOMO'S QUESTION, "WHAT HAPPENS IF SALISBURY SAYS NO TO ALL-PARTY TALKS?" OWEN RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD NOT GIVE UP ATTEMPTS TO REACH A FINAL AGREEMENT.

2. MUGABE SAID THAT OWEN'S RESPONSES WERE "NOT VERY ASSURING." HOWEVER, WITH SOME PROMPTING FROM SECRETARY VANCE, MUGABE AND NKOMO PROCEEDED TO OUTLINE PF POSITIONS ON THREE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS: (A) COMPOSITION OF GOVERNING COUNCIL, (B) ROLE OF THE UN FORCE, AND (C) POLICE.

3. GOVERNING COUNCIL (GC) - PF HAS CHANGED POSITION FROM MALTA AT WHICH THEY SUGGESTED A 4-1-1 RATIO (PF-RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-RHODESIAN REGIME) FOR GHE GC. NEW POSITION IS THAT GC SHOULD BE COMPOSED OF TWELVE MEMBERS (EIGHT PF, THREE RHODESIAN REGIME, AND RESIDENT COMMISSIONER). MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE AND LAW AND ORDER SHOULD BE HELD BY PF MEMBERS. THE GC ITSELF WOULD HAVE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SECTO 04038 01 OF 03 150002Z

FULL LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY OVER ALL MATTERS. RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD BE SUPREME COMMANDER WHO WOULD EXERCISE POWERS ON ADVICE OF GC. THE ONLY RESERVED POWER OF RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD RELATE TO COMBATTING AN EXTERNAL THREAT.

4. IN RESPONSE TO HEAVY, BUT POLITE, QUESTIONING FROM OWEN, VANCE AND CARVER, NKOMO AND MUGABE SAID THAT PF-CONTROLLED MINISTRIES OF DEFENSE AND LAW AND ORDER WOULD BE IN DAY-TO-DAY CHARGE OF DEFENSE FORCES. DECISIONS WOULD BE REACHED BY CONSENSUS BETWEEN GC AND THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THEY DISCOUNTED POSSIBILITY THAT THERE WOULD BE DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MINISTERS AND THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER.

5. OWEN RESPONDED THAT PF'S POSITION IS FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE FROM WHAT IS ENVISAGED IN THE AAP. IN EFFECT, PF PROPOSED CABINET FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN WHICH MILITARY COMMANDER, IN THIS CASE THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, WOULD ACT UNDER DIRECTION OF GOVERNING COUNCIL. IF SUCH WERE THE CASE, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WITH THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OUTLINED IN THE AAP TO ADMINISTER THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. REPEATING ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT HE WAS NOT NECESSARILY OPPOSED TO SUCH A SYSTEM, OWEN NEVERTHELESS CLEARLY STATED THAT THE BRITISH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SECTO 04038 02 OF 03 150047Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W
-----023990 150054Z /61

O 142322Z APR 78 ZFF-6
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABARONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 SECTO 4038

EXDIS

CAPT TOWN FOR EMBASSY

PARLIMENT WOULD NOT ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR ADMINISTERING
THE TRANSITION UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. HE ASKED THE PF TO
STOP PLAYING WITH WORDS AND TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY WERE SUGGEST-
ING A FUNDAMENTAL SHIFT IN APPROACH.

6. IN RELATION TO THE 8-3-1 BALANCE OF THE GC, OWEN NOTED
THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO CONVINCE THE WORLD THAT FREE
ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD WHEN ONE OF THE PARTIES CONTESTING
THE ELECTION MAINTAINED A TWO TO ONXMAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL.

7. WITH SOME PASSION--NOTABLE IN A MEETING CHARACTERIZED BY
SUBDUED TONES--NKOMO ARGUED THAT THE WORLD FULLY UNDER-
STOOD WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN RHODESIA AND THAT THE GAINS WON
BY THE SACRIFICES OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE MUST BE SAFEGUARDED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SECTO 04038 02 OF 03 150047Z

AGAINST EROSION DURING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

8. SECRETARY VANCE NOTED THAT THE REAL QUESTION IS THE MAJOR CHANGE THE PF HAS PUT FORWARD ABOUT THE POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. MUGABE INTERJECTED THAT IT WAS A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER. NKOMO SAID THAT THE PF HAS COME A LONG WAY TO MEETING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN SUGGESTIONS, TO WHICH OWEN ASKED GOOD-NATUREDLY IF HE WERE SAYING THAT WITH A STRAIGHT FACE. MUGABE ASKED HOW WE HAVE MODIFIED OIJ POSITION SINCE MALTA, HOW FAR HAD WE GONE TO MEET THE PF'S POINT OF VIEW. AMBASSADOR YOUNG NOTED THAT BALANCE OF POWER ON THE GC IS NOT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. IN HIS VIEW, WHOLE GC IS A WASTE OF TIME AND IF HE WERE RUNNING AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN HE WOULD NOT PUT HIS BEST PEOPLE ON THE GC, BUT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE TO GET VOTES. "ALL I AM CONCERNED ABOUT IS FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS TO GIVE THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE A CHANCE TO CHOOSE A NEW GOVERNMENT," SAID AMBASSADOR YOUNG. NKOMO NOTED THAT BECAUSE THE AMERICANS HAD DEFEATED THE BRITISH, "YOU DIDN'T HAVE TO HAVE THEM CONDUCT YOUR ELECTIONS--IF YOU DID, YOU'D KNOW WHAT WE ARE WORRYING ABOUT."

9. NKOMO, OBVIOUSLY ANXIOUS TO HAVE OWEN MAKE A COUNTER-PROPOSAL ON THE GC NUMBERS QUESTION, ASKED ONCE AGAIN IF THE UK-US HAD DEVELOPED ANY NEW THINKING ON THE ISSUE. OWEN RESPONDED THAT AT MALTA WE HAD MODIFIED OUR POSITION SIGNIFICANTLY AWAY FROM THE TOTAL POWER WE HAD INITIALLY THOUGHT NECESSARY FOR THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. OWEN DID NOT OFFER ANY NEW POSITION ON THIS MATTER.

10. UN FORCES - MUGABE NOTED THAT AT MALTA PF HAD ACCEPTED ROLE OF UN IN OBSERVING ELECTIONS. PF HAS NOW RECONSIDERED ITS POSITION ABOUT PRESENCE OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE AND "ALTHOUGH WE REMAIN OPPOSED TO SUCH PRESENCE, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER A UN FORCE PROVIDED THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS ARE CLEARLY DEFINED

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SECTO 04038 02 OF 03 150047Z

AS NOTHING MORE THAN TO SUPERVISE THE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION." MUGABE ALSO SAID THAT THE TEM OF THE UN FORCE MUST BE RESTRICTED TO END WITH THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE. IN RESPONSE TO SECRETARY VANCE'S AND OWEN'S SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE PF'S OBJECTION TO A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, NKOMO AND MUGABE PROVIDED NO DETAILS EXCEPT TO INDICATE THAT THE UN FORCE'S ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE CIVIL POWER WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE IF THE CIVIL POWER'S INTENTION WAS ONE OF RECOLONIZATION.

11. OWEN NOTED THAT THE UN FORCE DOES NOT COME UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER BUT RATHER IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL. HE ASKED GENERAL CHAND TO COMMENT. WITH CONSIDERABLE PRECISION, CHAND NOTED HIS AGREEMENT THAT THERE

MUST BE A CLEARCUT MANDATE FOR THE FORCE, WHICH THE UN HAS LEARNED FROM PAST EXPERIENCE. HE ASSERTED THAT WITH DAILY LIAISON WITH ALL THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE MILITARY COMMANDERS, THE UN WOULD BE ABLE TO SUPERVISE THE CEASE-FIRE AND OTHERWISE AID THE PEACEFUL TRANSITION.

12. POLICE - NKOMO NOTED THAT THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THE UN ROLE DEPENDED ON WHAT OTHER FORCES WOULD BE IN EXISTENCE. HE SAID THAT AT MALTA ANGLO-AMERICAN POSITION WAS THAT BOTH PF AND RHODESIAN ARMIES WOULD BE KEPT IN BARRACKS AND THAT LAW AND ORDER WOULD BE MAINTAINED BY THE POLICE ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THEY WERE A CIVIL AND NEUTRAL FORCE. THIS ASSUMPTION IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PF, WHICH VIEWS THE POLICE AS AN ELEMENT OF THE FORCES IT IS CURRENTLY FIGHTING. NKOMO SAID THAT THE PF IS PREPARED TO WORK WITH ACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS OF BOTH THE POLICE AND MILITARY FORCES BUT THAT THESE MUST BE INCORPORATED INTO "THE FORCES FOR CHANGE," THAT IS, THE PF. THE UN COULD OBSERVE THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER BY THE PF-CONTROLLED POLICE FORCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SECTO 04038 03 OF 03 150029Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 W
-----023805 150033Z /65

O 142322Z APR 78 ZFF-6
FM USDEL SECRETARY IN DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABARONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 SECTO 4038

EXDIS

CAPT TOWN FOR EMBASSY

IN RESPONSE TO A SHARP QUESTION FROM OWEN, NKOMO RESPONDED THAT HE WAS THINKING OF A RATION OF TWO TO ONE IN FAVOR OF THE PF FOR THE COMPOSITION OF THE POLICE FORCE.

13. OWEN NOTED THAT AT MALTA WE HAD RESPONDED TO THE ANXIETY OF THE PF ABOUT THE POLICE BY PUTTING FORWARD THE CONCEPT OF A UN POLICE ROLE. "THERE IS NO SENSE BEATING AROUND THE BUSH," SAID OWEN, "WITH TWO TO ONE PF PREDOMINANCE IN POLCE WE COULD NOT CONVINCE THE WORLD THAT THERE WOULD BE FREE ELECTIONS." MUGABE INTERJECTED THAT THE BRITISH WOULD ACCEPT IF IT WERE TWO TO ONE IN FAVOR OF SMITH. OWEN IGNORED THE BARB AND COUNTERED WITH, "WE THINK WE COULD NEUTRALIZE THE POLICE FORCE WITH CHANGES THAT WOULD BE MADE BY THE NEW COMMISSIONER."

14. IN CLOSING THE MEETING, OWEN SUMMED UP THE PF POSITION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SECTO 04038 03 OF 03 150029Z

ON THE GOVERNMENT COUNCIL, THE POLICE AND THE UN FORCE. IN DESCRIBING THE LATTER, HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE PF WAS STILL OPPOSED TO THE CONCEPT BUT WOULD ACCEPT IT, IF THE UN ROLE WERE CLEARLY DEFINED. SECRETARY VANCE NOTED, AND NKOMO AND MUGABE AGREED, THAT IN FACT THE PF WAS ACCEPTING THE UN FORCE.

15. FRONT LINE WAS REPRESENTED AT MEETING BY MWALE (ZAMBIA), MKAPA AND SLAIM (TANZANIA), MOGWE (BOTSWANA) AND DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER LIMA (ANGOLA). GARBA ARRIVED NEAR THE END OF THE MEETING. CHISSANO AND VIEIRA REACHED DAR AFTER THE AFTERNOON SESSION. OBSERVERS DID NOT ADDRESS THE MEETING.

COMMENT: AFTER MEETING, TANZANIAN REPRESENTATIVES NOTED IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION THAT PF'S POSITIONS COULD HARDLY BE CONSIDERED RESUMPTION OF MALTA. AMBASSADOR SALIM NOTED THAT HE BELIEVED THE PF WAS PUTTING FORWARD AN INTENTIONALLY HARD LINE AS A PRELIMINARY BARGAINING POSITION. OWEN'S PERFORMANCE WAS RESTRAINED BUT, AS IN THE CASE OF HIS SUMMARY OF THE PF'S POSITION ON THE UN FORCE, HE WAS APPARENTLY INTERESTED IN HELPING THE PF PAINT ITSELF INTO THE NARROWEST OF CORNERS. CARRYING THROUGH ON THE ATTITUDES ADUMBRATED IN HIS MORNING CONFERENCE WITH THE SECRETARY, OWEN DID NOT REJECT ANYTHING PROPOSED BY THE PF, BUT SIMPLY AND PURPOSEFULLY NOTED THAT SUCH TERMS COULDN'T BE ACCOMMODATED IN THE SETTLEMENT WORKED OUT UNDER THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

VANCE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS, NATIONALISTS, POLITICAL CONCESSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978SECTO04038
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780161-0851
Format: TEL
From: SECRETARY DAR ES SALAAM
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780454/aaaabtyi.tel
Line Count: 322
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 719701b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2961643
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: OWEN/VANCE MEETING WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT AFTERNOON APRIL 14 SUMMARY: IN COURSE OF MEETING AFTERNOON APRIL 14
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US, PATRIOTIC FRONT, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (OWEN, DAVID)
To: STATE USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/719701b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014